

POPULATION AND OTHER VITAL STATISTICS

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task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number. 124
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Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families. 592 •

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material. 162
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The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were: 162

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With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than \$200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between \$400 and \$500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

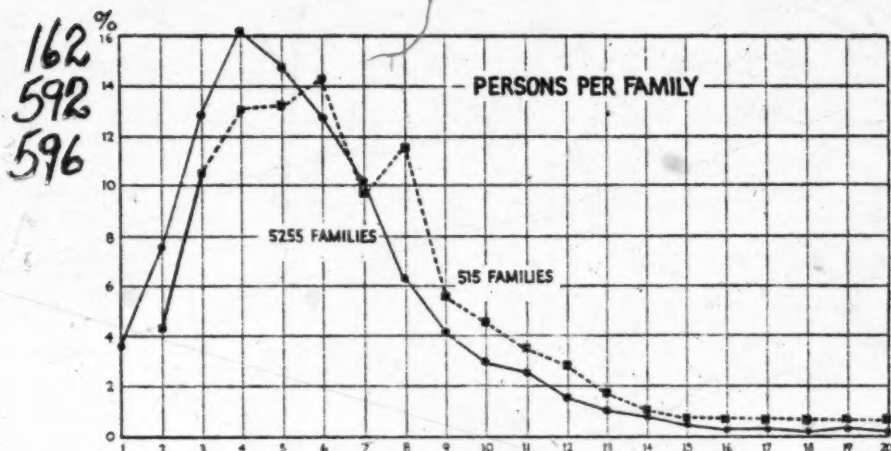


FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

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per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent.

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien.

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4.

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.⁷ 261 [853] [846] 596

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.⁸ 592

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile 463 592

7 Audrey I. Richards in *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

463 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to
 592 sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.⁹

592 The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated
 556 land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses
 in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.¹⁰ In addition
 to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-
 farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of
 the other families, only seven persons are in professions and govern-
 ment services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,¹¹ or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: *A Sociological Analysis*, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, *The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community*, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃鴻，清河村鎮社區，社會學界第十卷單行本，民國二十七年六月。

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The Ping-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,¹² it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondly, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, *The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex*, p. 61. In the ideology of the Ping-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

PING-CHIAO-TSUN AS A SOCIAL LABORATORY

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crecive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592 ●

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. Ping-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592 •
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In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES 41

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162
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Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,¹ the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592
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¹ "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

592 size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the
596 members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

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Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

One and member Relationship of 48 Families									
Number of persons in family			Number of families	Per cent	Member relationship			Number	Per cent
3	...	...	9	18.7	18.7 33.4 25.0 18.7 2.1 2.1	Heads of families ..	...	47	21.4
4	...	...	16	33.4		Wives ..	...	47	21.4
5	...	...	12	25.0		Sons ..	...	60	27.2
6	...	...	9	18.7		Daughters ..	...	46	20.9
7	...	...	1	2.1		Mothers ..	...	5	2.3
8	...	...	1	2.1		Brothers ..	...	2	0.9
Total			48	100.0		Sisters ..	...	3	1.4
						Daughter-in-law ..	...	1	0.5
						Grand daughter ..	...	1	0.5
						Nephews (brother's sons)	...	2	0.9
					Nephew (sister's son)	...	1	0.5	
					Niece (sister's daughter)	...	1	0.5	
					Grandson (daughter's son)	...	1	0.5	
					Cousin (aunt's son)	...	1	0.5	
					Wife's sister ..	...	1	0.5	
					Son's betrothed ..	...	1	0.5	
			Total			...	...	220	100.0

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HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING 103

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
 362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess
 the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to
 mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that
 time must have worn out many a building that was once intact
 and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communi-
 cation with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand
 houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude.
 Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have
 a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other
 city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and
 ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides,
 they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious
 courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into
 Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed
 a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer fami-
 lies have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters
 or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose
 to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts
 long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class
 families. These houses are of course small and of very frail
 construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent
 that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however,
 is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in
 view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlight-
 ened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we
 shall not go into now.

342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
 362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
 ● 592 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,¹ the centre room or *chien*
 being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the
 house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the
 courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its
 green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who
 want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

¹ A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

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342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
392 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care
● to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If
the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain
a house of the above description, as it would require heavy ex-
penses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller
incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to
pay for. With our working families, however, the condition be-
comes even worse, for it was found that with only two excep-
tions, every family which we investigated occupied only one
room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row,
they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three
separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a
door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been
described and obviously there must be houses that do not entire-
ly conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be
hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for,
general speaking, all residential houses are built around a court-
yard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of
the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of
the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room
that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether
a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking
houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the
best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime
or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms in-
habited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as:
tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone,
however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it
must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or
the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-
seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the
remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

592 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of
596 the family can be drawn unless we know what should
be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family
includes everybody who lives under the same roof,
eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and
duties of all the members. Two to three generations
are often included in the family, but all in the unit are
not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or
daughter, a servant or any other person sharing in the
common life will be included in the economic family
or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in
another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with
size of the family of the ordinary people. The most
popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large,
but in our survey we have found the average number
of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much
more than in the United States where the number of
members in the family is generally supposed to be
small. In 1920 the number per family in the United
States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain
4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of
114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American
family.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided⁵⁹² into two parts; the management of the more impor-⁵⁹⁶ tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in-¹⁶² cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF
FAMILY MANAGERS

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PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Female	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE

436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was \$1 gold=\$2.25 silver.* In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE
RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR.
ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing,
511 rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

* No. 9.

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counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family. 592 •

The *Graphs*, except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the \$5 and \$300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups. 128

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of \$5 and \$10 a month have been used, rather than \$50 and \$100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages*, given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal*,⁷ from *Livelihood in Peking*⁸ and by personal visits to the stores. 435

⁷No. 11.

⁸No. 39.